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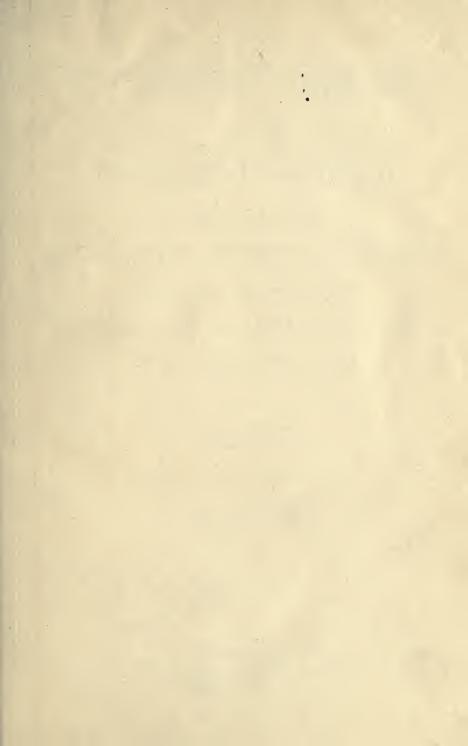
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Inquiry into the Sources of the "Cursor Mundi."

Inaugural-Dissertation

welche mit Genehmigung der

hohen Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Breslau

behufs Erlangung der philosophischen Doctorwürde

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Dr. phil. Julius Aust Dr. phil. Hermann Neufert

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Hugo Haenisch

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Herrn Professor Dr. Eugen Kölbing

in Hochachtung und Dankbarkeit

gewidmet

vom



INQUIRY INTO

THE SOURCES OF THE "CURSOR MUNDI."

By DR. HAENISCH.





INQUIRY INTO THE SOURCES OF THE "CURSOR MUNDI,"

THE purpose of the following essay is to find out the sources from which the author of the Cursor Mundi drew his information. As the four MSS. of the Cursor agree with one another almost word for word, it does not much matter which of them we choose for our quotations. I prefer the Cotton MS., because it is pretty complete, and has preserved the northern dialect. Ten-Brink 1 supposes the following books, beside Holy Writ, to have been used by the poet: Biblical commentators and homilists, apocryphal books, as the Pseudo-evangelium Matthæi, Evangelium de Nativitate Mariæ, Evangelium Nicodemi, and perhaps Robert Grosseteste's Chasteau d'Amour. This enumeration, however, which only refers to the Christian period, is, when compared with the various contents of the Cursor, neither exhaustive nor accurate enough. From a treatise of Dr. Robert Reinsch² we learn indeed that some passages of the Pseudo-evangelium Matthæi were certainly known to the author of the Cursor Mundi. But I do not think any one else has said a word about this question, which, considering the importance of the poem, undoubtedly deserves our full attention. I have therefore taken it up.

T.

PETRUS COMESTOR'S HISTORIA SCHOLASTICA.

In the Latin religious literature of the Middle Ages, there is a book which, owing to its careful and terse wording, was often made a source for religious writings. I mean the Historia Scholastica of Peter Comestor, which was composed between 1169 and 1175. As it has been clearly proved³ that an earlier English poem, called Genesis and Exodus, is founded almost wholly on the first part of this work, the author of the Cursor, who treated the same subject, is very likely to have made use of the same widely-known original.

1 Geschichte der englischen Literatur. Berlin, 1877. Bd. I. p. 360.

Fritzsche, in Anglia, V. p. 43 ff.

² Die Pseudo-evangelien von Jesus' und Maria's Kindheit in der germanischen und romanischen Literatur. Halle, 1879.

3 Ten-Brink, Gesch. d. engl. Lit., p. 274; Kölbing, in Engl. Studien, III. p. 273 ff.;

Omitting all the passages which the *Cursor* has in common with Scripture, since they cannot afford us any evidence, I shall now set forth the most strikingly corresponding passages in the *Historia Scholastica*¹ (= H. Sch.) and the *Cursor* (= C.).

The very first lines contain a remark, not found in the Vulgate, concerning the four elements:

C., l. 355 ff. bis elementz bat al thinges bindes Four er bai, als clerkes findes. be nebermast es watur and erth, be thrid es air, and fir be ferth. P. C., H. Sch., ch. 1, p. 1055 C. et in principio natura quosdam atomos solidavit in terram, alios in aquam, alios in aëre, alios in ignem.

Much more characteristic is the following passage:

C., l. 713—16.

Quen sathan sagh bat he was chosin

To win be blis he had forlosin,

Sorful bicom bat fals file,

And thoght how he moght man biwile;

H. Sch., ch. 21, p. 1072 B. Lucifer enim dejectus a paradiso spirituum, invidit homini, quod esset in paradiso corporum, sciens si faceret eum transgredi, quod et ille ejiceretur.

The region where paradise was situated is mentioned in the same place in both works:

C., l. 1006. In erth toward be est it standes H. Sch., ch. 13, p. 1067 A. . . . paradisum in Eden ad orientem.

Adam's mourning for Abel during a hundred years, his vow to keep apart from his wife, and the breach of it in consequence of God's order, C., l. 1191—1199, are found in the H. Sch., ch. 25, p. 1076 C, and 29, p. 1080 A.

Adam was blessed with thirty sons and as many daughters, l. 1216—17 = H. Sch., ch. 29. Though we find the same notice in a Latin legend, called *Vita Adæ et Evæ*,² the poet cannot have borrowed it from this book, for the account of Adam's life differs materially from the *Cursor*:

C., 1. 1469—70. He was be first bat letters fand, And wrot sum bokes wit his hand.

C., l. 1471. To paradis quik was he tan. H. Sch., ch. 30, p. 1081 A. Add. 1. Henoch quasdam litteras invenit, et quosdam libros scripsit.

H. Sch., ch. 30, p. 1080 D. et transtulit illum Deus in paradisum voluptatis.

On Doomsday, Enoch will return with Elias: C., l. 1473—74 = H. Sch., ch. 30, p. 1080 D. With Noah, ends the first age of the world: C., l. 1491—92 = H. Sch., ch. 30, p. 1081 A.

1 Patrologiæ Cursus completus, ed. Migne, tom. excviii.

² Vita Adæ et Evæ. Herausgegeben und erläutert von Wilhelm Meyer. Aus den Abhandlungen der k. Bayer, Akademie der Wissenschaften. I. Cl. XIV. Bd. III. Abth. München, 1879.

C., l. 1501. Til him was spused calmana.

C., l. 1523—25.
A sister had þis breþer alsua,
And sco was heiten noema;
Scho was þe formest webster...

C., l. 1513—14. pis lameth was cald lameth be blind, Caym he slogh wit chaunge, we find;

And

C., l. 1533—38.

Tua pilers þai mad, o tile þe tan,
pe toþer it was o merbul stan;
pair craftes al þat þai moght min,
pai put þam in þeir pilers tuin;
pe stan, egain watur for to last;
Again þe fire, þe tile, þat it ne brast;

C., l. 1574—5. pe topers wijf lai be pe broper; pair cursnes was noght unkid,

C., l. 1627—30.
Fiue hundret yeir had pan noe
Quen he had geten his suns thre;
pe first was sem, cham was the topeir,
And Japhet hight pat yonges[t] broper.

C., l. 1677—8. Fiueten on heght, but es bentent, Fra grund unto be tabulment; H. Sch., ch. 27, p. 1078 B.
... cum uxore sua Chalmana ...

H. Sch., ch. 28, p. 1079 C. Soror vero Tubalcain, Noema, quæ invenit artem variæ texturæ.

H. Sch., ch. 28, p. 1079 C.
Lamech vero vir sagittarius diu vivendo
caliginem oculorum incurrit . . . casu
interfecit Cain.

H. Sch., ch. 28, p. 1079 B. . . . ne periret ars inventa, scripsit eam in duabus columnis, in qualibet totam, ut dicit Josephus, una marmorea, altera latericia, quarum altera non diluetur diluvio, altera non solvetur incendio.

H. Sch., ch. 31, p. 1081 C. filii Cain abutebantur uxoribus fratrum suorum nimiis fornicationibus.

H. Sch., ch. 31, p. 1081 B. Noe vero cum quingentorum esset annorum, genuit Sem, Cham et Japhet.

H. Sch., ch. 32, note, p. 1083 C. . . . quod dicitur arca habuisse triginta cubitos in altum . . . id est a fundo usque ad tabulatum.

In the *Cursor* the measure is expressed in *ellen* (l. 1675). From other similar statements of measure, given also by the Vulgate, it is evident that one ell is the same as two cubiti.

In describing the arrangement of the different rooms of the ark, Peter Comestor quotes several traditions, one of which agrees with the statement in the Cursor:

C., l. 1691—1700.

In pe ouermast stage pi self sal be, pe fouyules albernest be be;
Siben efter albernest hand,
pe meke beistes sal haue bair stand,
pat es, bai bat er tame and mild,
And under bam sal stand be wild;
And bou sal alsua mak a boure
For to hald in bi wermestore;
In be bobem sal be na stall,
For al beir filth sal bedir fall.

H. Sch., ch. 32, p. 1083 B. Alii vero has quinque cameras in altitudine sola disponunt, inferioremque et sentina stercoriam dicentes; secundam supra illam apothecariam, tertiam immitium animalium et serpentum . . . quartam mitium animalium; supremam hominum et avium,

In l. 1698, the word wermestore might lead us to believe a special room to have been set apart for reptiles (worm, werm). Two manuscripts show warne and warnistoure; but the Trinity MS. reads wardestoure, that is, the storeroom, corresponding with apothecaria in the Latin work.

C., l. 1701—4. It sal be mikel wit-outen pere, In making sexsith tuenti yere; Sua lang terme i haue hem lent, pat wil come til a-mendement, H. Sch., ch. 31, p. 1082 A. Et tamen prius quam disperdam eum, dabo ei tempus pœnitudinis, si voluerit, eruntque dies illius ad pœnitendum, scilicet centum et viginti annorum.

C., l. 1885—7. The remark, that the raven sat on the dead body of a drowned beast, is not mentioned in the Bible, but in the H. Sch., ch. 34, p. 1085 B: ... vel inveniens supernatans cadaver in aquis est illectus eo.

C., l. 1917—20. A tuelfmoth was gan with þis; For als þat ilk dai I.-wijs Tuelfmo[n]th þat he 30d þar-in, He self it euermar to min, H. Sch., ch. 35, p. 1085 D. Et egressus est Noe cum universis, quæ erant cum eo, eadem die, qua ingressus fuerat, revoluto anno.

C., l. 1921—2. The poet himself says that he has used a work of peris (peirs):

Als peirs mayner, he god clerk, Telles of his in sumkin werk.

After considering the parallel passages above cited, we may justly identify this Peirs with Peter Comestor. The word mayner, I believe to be an anglicized form of the Latin manducator, a surname generally given to the canon and dean Peter Comestor. The other manuscripts give maior instead. This, I suppose to be a mistake of the copier.

Other corresponding passages are-

C., l. 2001—2. Quen Noe left be schipp allan, He had sex hundret yeir and an,

C., l. 2047—8. Herbi mai men understand, Was funden þan na breke in land. H. Sch., ch. 34, p. 1085 C. Igitur sexcentesimo primo anno vitæ Noe... aperuit Noe tectum arcæ.

H. Sch., ch. 36, p. 1087 A. Patet quia nondum homines utebantur femoralibus.

C., l. 2087—90. In apportioning the earth to the sons of Noah, God gives Sem Asia, Ham Africa, Japhet Europe. H. Sch., ch. 37, p. 1087 D: Sem Asiam, Cham Africam, Japhet Europam sortitus est.

C., l. 2175. pe toper eild endis in thare, H. Sch., ch. 41, p. 1091 A. In Thare terminatur secunda ætas.

The accounts that follow are taken from the Vulgate, with the exception of C., l. 2757—61.

C., l. 2757—61.
If bot bar findes fiue sith tene,
Fifty or fourte o bi lele men,
Tuenti mai fall, or tuis fiue,
Ne sal bai alle haue bar for liue?"
Dus said our lauerd;

H. Sch., ch. 52, p. 1100 A. Si fuerint quinquaginta . . . item, si quadraginta . quid, si triginta? quid, si viginti? quid si decem? Et ait Dominus: Non delebo eos propter decem.

It is true, the Bible mentions in the 18th chapter the same dialogue between God and Abraham; but it is just this striking abbreviation of it in the H. Sch. and in the Cursor, as against the longer discourse in the Bible, that clearly proves the H. Sch. to have been the source of our poem even in this passage. It is the same thing with C., l. 2861—2880, compared with H. Sch., ch. 53, where the region of Sodom and Gomorrha, destroyed by the Lord, is described: in their stead, is now a sea killing all life.

C., l. 2873—80.

If bou a brand bar-in wil cast, pe fire it haldes bar stedfast,
Thoru brennyng of be brinstane,
Quare-of bar es sa mikel wan.
par-bi groues sum apell tre,
Wit appuls selcut fair to se;
Quen bai ar in hand, als a fise bal,
To poudir wit a stink bai fal.

H. Sch., ch. 53, p. 1101 C. Lucerna ardens superenatat, exstincta mergitur. Multis in locis nigras glebas bituminis vomit...

Dicitur etiam quod poma nata in arboribus circumpositis, usque ad maturitatem coloris sunt viridis, matura si incidas, favillas intus invenies.

C., l. 3214. Sarah is buried in the burying-place of Adam:

C., l. 3214. ... þar formast was grauen Adam. H. Sch., ch. 59, p. 1106 A. Adam, et Eva jam ibidem sepulti erant.

The struggle of Esau and Jacob for the priority of birth was already begun while they were in their mother's womb:

C., l. 3481—2. pan wex þe fight mare þan be-forn, Quilk o þir tua suld first be born; H. Sch., ch. 66, p. 1110 A. Movebantur enim mixtim pueri, ut vicissim alter prior altero videretur posse prodire ad ortum.

C., 1. 3864. He [Jacob] was master hird of his fee;

H. Sch., ch. 74, p. 1115 C. Tandem curam gregis eum habere decrevit.

On returning home, Jacob finds his mother no longer alive:

C., l. 4024. Rebecca his moder ded he fand. H. Sch., ch. 85, p. 1123 C. . . . et jam mortuam invenit matrem.

After having sold Joseph, the brothers tell Reuben what they have done (l. 4204). In the Vulgate this fact is not mentioned.

C., l. 4204. And þai him tald wat þai had don. H. Sch., p. 1126 B. Ruben . . . non invenit puerum, et credens eum interemptum, scissis vestibus ejulabat. Sed accepto quod viveret, quievit. C., l. 5604—6. Aram had three children, Moses, Aaron, and Mary, corresponding to H. Sch., ch. 5, p. 1143 C.

C., 1. 6615—26 = H. Sch., ch. 73, p. 1190 B. Moses breaks the golden calf, grinds it to powder, and puts it in water which all were made to drink. The guilty immediately had their beards gilt; on the innocent, there was nothing extraordinary to be seen.

Moses is buried by God in a hidden place:

C., l. 6921—2. For, wist be Juus quare he lai, Honur him als godd wald bai.

C., 1. 7003—4.
. . . . in his 1 time was pe cite made of Thebas.

C., 1. 7013—14.

Manigath ² com after him;

Troi was bi-gunnen in his time,

H. Sch., ch. 20, p. 1260 B. quod ideo factum autumant Hebræi, ne ipsi Moysen pro Deo colerent,

. H. Sch., ch. 5, p. 1274 C. In diebus Othoniel Cadmus regnavit Thebis.

H. Sch., ch. 6, p. 1275 D. In Dardania regnavit Tros a quo Trojam conditam ferunt.

The English poet differs from his original at this place. In the H. Sch. Tros is already reigning under the predecessor of Samgath, but mention is not yet made of the foundation of Troy.

C., 1. 7027—8. In time o bis Iedeon, wees Bath orpheus and hercules. H. Sch., ch. 8, p. 1281 A, incidentia. Orphæus clarus habitus est. Linus magister Herculis claruit.

The Cursor, omitting Linus, especially lays stress upon Hercules, whereas the H. Sch. only accidentally quotes him as a pupil of Linus. The poet may have omitted the latter as quite unknown to him, or his Latin text was corrupt in this passage.

C., l. 7037—40. In grece þan regned priamus, Als ald stori telles us. In þis ilk Iairs time, Was letters funden o latine.

C., l. 7045—7.
Sebon [Esebon] sipen, sais pe bok,
Tok israel to lede and lok;
He leed pam seuen yeir and mare;

H. Sch., ch. 10, p. 1283 B, incd. Priamus filius Laomedontis regnavit in Troja. *ibd.* C. Carmentis nympha litteras Latinas invenit.

H. Sch., ch. 13, p. 1285 A. Post Jephte judicavit Israel Abessan, vel Essebon . . . septem annis.

Although the same remark is given in the Vulgate [Judicum, ch. xii. 8], the name of Essebon there does not correspond with the English poem; the conciseness of the passage also points to Peter Comestor.

¹ Othomel's.

² In the other MSS. Samgath, Sanigath, Sanygath.

C., l. 7048—50. Alexandre, in þat siquar, pat paris hight, raiuist helayn,— Quarfor þat mani man was slain. H. Sch., ch. 14, p. 1285 B, incd. Eo tempore Paris Helenam rapuit, bellum decennale surrexit.

During Ladon's reign, Troy was taken:

C., 1. 7059. In his time was troi nomyn, H. Sch., ch. 15, p. 1285 C, incd. Hujus anno tertio capta est Troja.

There is the remarkable fact to be observed here, that in C., l. 7064 ff., the exact numbers of the Greeks and Trojans (870,000 and 686,000) are stated, which notice is wanting in the H. Sch. It is possible that the poet was indebted for it to another source, or that he has invented the numbers only for the purpose of adding more probability to his account. The superscription to C., l. 7861 ff. is found in three manuscripts.

C. (Gött. MS.), 1. 7861 ff. Here biginnys ful witterli, Þe feird elde, at (þ)e king daui. H. Sch., ch. 2, p. 1325 B. Hic inchoatur quarta ætas (sc. with the anointing of David).

L. 8553—4. Under David, Carthage is founded = H. Sch., ch. 3, p. 1350 A: In diebus David, Carthago condita est.

C., l. 9175—6. Achaz, his sun, him efter come; pat sith was made be tun o rome. H. Sch., ch. 25, p. 1406 D, incd. Sub Achaz Roma condita est.

C., l. 9183—4. Pat time was, als sais stori, A sibile pat hight osami. H. Sch., ch. 33, p. 1415 B, incd. In diebus Manasse, Sybilla Erophila claruit in Samo; unde et Samia dicta est.

Osami is a contraction of "of Samy."

C., l. 9197. Josias gat Jeconiam. H. Sch., ch. 38, p. 1418 D. Reliquit autem Josias tres filios, Eliacim, qui et Jechonias dictus est.

In the Bible, the name of Jechonias is not to be found.

But the poet does not make use of the H. Sch. in that part of C. which comprises the contents of the Old Testament only; the influence of this work is to be seen in the later parts too.

Compare C., l. 11380, etc. with H. Sch. in Evgl. ch. vii, p. 1541 C. The poet quotes Chrysostom as his authority for a tale of Jesus' birth found in a book of the prophet Balaam.

This short notice which the poet found in the H. Sch. may have led him to the tale of the wonderful arrival of the three kings from the East; for P. C. does not give a detailed account of this story. C., l. 13210—13.

His disciplis þat war bun,
pai ledd his licam ute o tun,
Til sebastin wit mikel far,
pe hali cors þai birid þar.

H. Sch., ch. 73, p. 1574 D. Discipuli vero Joannis tulerunt corpus ejus de carcere, et sepelierunt illud Corpus vero in Sebaste sepultum est.

The fate of John's corpse is described thus:

C., l. 13235—41.

Bot sco did efter haiþen lede, pis bodi ute of erth þai hint, And al to pouder þai it brind. Siþen war hali munckes send, To gedir þaa askes þat þaa brend, Pouder or ban þat þai fand þar, þai gader up, and wit þaim bar.

H. Sch., ch. 73, p. 1574 D. Quæ (ossa) rursus collecta, ab eisdem cremata sunt, et pulvis ventilatus.... Cum autem colligerentur ossa, quidam monachi a Jerosolymis.... magnam eorum partem tulerunt.

In lines 13185—13187, the poet says the beheading of John is still remembered in our days; on St. John's day, people in France are accustomed to go to church. H. Sch., p. 1575 B, gives more particulars. The beheading of St. John took place at Edessa. From this town the head was brought to Constantinople, then to Gaul. This legend is probably to be derived from the gradual propagation of the worship of the Saint.

The blind soldier who pierced Christ's side with a spear, received his sight again through the blood that ran down:

C., l. 16841—4 (Cotton MS. l. 28—32). Bothe blode & water oute lett By þe spere, til his hand Ran doun of his blode: He wipped is egen þer-withe, And sijt he hade ful gode. H. Sch., ch. 179, p. 1634 A. et qui lanceavit eum, ut tradunt quidam, cum fere caligassent oculi ejus, et casu tetigisset oculos sanguine ejus, clare vidit.

Our poet follows the H. Sch. especially closely in the account of the first Christian communions. Compare, for instance—

C., l. 19419. Tua wittnes fals þai þam puruaid, H. Sch., Act. Apost., ch. 31, p. 1663 C. . . et surrexerunt duo falsi testes.

In the Vulgate no number is mentioned.

It is likewise mentioned only by P. C. that the witnesses, as the law commanded, were the first who stoned him:

C., l. 19457—60.

pe fals wittnes stain him bigan,
pat said þai herd him drightin bann;
pai held for lau wit uten sin,
pat þe wittnes suld þat bigin.

H. Sch., Act. Ap., ch. 38, p. 1668 A. Et testes, duo scilicet falsi, qui primi secundum legem tenebantur lapides projicere, quia in lege dictum est de blasphemo: Prima manus testium lapidabit eum.

To the account in the Bible, that the clothes of the persons stoning Stephen were laid down at the feet of Saul, the poet adds the remark that Saul was

afterwards called Paul. Of course this change of the name must have already been known to the poet; but its being found just at the same place and with the same words in the H. Sch. increases the probability that he had H. Sch. before him; for in the Vulgate this fact does not occur here. Compare—

C., l. 19465 ff. pat ilk þat þan was hate saul, Siþen he was apostel paul. H. Sch., Act. Ap., ch. 38, p. 1668 A. deposuerunt vestimenta sua, secus pedes adolescentis, qui vocabatur Saulus. Postea vocatus est Paulus.

Another passage evidently taken from the H. Sch. is l. 19481—8. After the death of Stephen, the holy church of Jerusalem is specially persecuted:

C., l. 19481—8.
For he, [Stephen,] þat ouer-man was slan,
Was o þe seuen dekens an;
Disciplis folud þai sa herd,
pat þai þam draf ute o þair ward,
Sauue þe apostels þat þam ledd,
pai stod, bot all þas oþer fledd:
All oþer þam fledd, bot yeitt þai stod,
Sua dos þaa hirdes þat er god.

H. Sch., Act. Ap., ch. 38, p. 1668 B. Et facta est persecutio magna in Ecclesia, que erat Hierosolymis, quia occiso beato Stephano uno de principibus Ecclesiæ, quasi primicerio septem diaconorum, cceperunt alios persequi graviter, in tantum, quod omnes discipuli, præter apostolos, qui ut pastores gregis, cæteris erant constantiores....

In the same way—

C., l. 19491—6.
Alphei sun þat hight iacob,
O ierusalem þai mad biscop;
pai laid þair handes him apon,
Petre and iacob and sant iohan;
For-þi o quoner þan o thre,
Mai na biscop sacrid be.

Ibid.

Tunc ... ordinaverunt Jacobum Alphæi episcopum Hierosolymorum, et imposuerunt ei manus Petrus, et Jacobus, et Johannes. Ideo non a paucioribus quam tribus episcopis, episcopus hodie consecratur.

God, who protects the good, does not suffer Saul to kill any one:

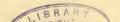
C., l. 19502—4.
Als godd wald, nan o þam he slogh,
For godd him geit, þat euer es god,
Un-wemmed his hend in sacles blod.

C., l. 19509—10. Philip, þat was o dekens an, þe neiest fra steuen was slan, H. Sch., ch. 39, p. 1668 D. Neminem tamen occidebat, Domino custodiente manus ejus, ne sanguine innocentium polluerentur.

H. Sch., ch. 39, p. 1668 D. Philippus autem Diaconus secundus a Stephano, descendens..... prædicabat ibi Christum.

The latter line in C., stating the death of Philip, is not found in the H. Sch. I assume a misreading here, especially as the three other manuscripts differ:

Ffx. pe neist to telle fra seint stephan Göttg. pe neist to tell fra sant stephane Trinity. Next aftir steuen was gone



Simon suffered himself to be baptized only for show, in order to become the confidant of Philip and to learn his wonderful deeds:

C., l. 19534—8.
Bot for he wend at come par-to, par-for tok he baptim faint,
For to be wit philipp a-quaint,
To be him als his priue nere,
pat he moght of his craftes lere.

H. Sch., ch. 39, p. 1669 A.
...nec ita facile putavit ex quadam industria fieri, ideo ficte baptizatus est, ut familiarius ei adhæreret, et addisceret artem, qua similia posset facere.

The precept that only bishops are allowed to perform the rite of confirmation:

C., l. 19549—52.
Herbi mai se þat oght es wise,
pat þof summen mai baptise,
Mai naman þat es in land
Conferming giue, bot biscop hand.

H. Sch., ch. 40, p. 1669 C. . . . quia manum impositionem reservavit apostolis, quæ propterea reservatur hodie solis eorum vicariis, id est episcopis, qui manus imponunt, et frontem liniunt in confirmatione.

The lines 19553—6 in C. relate that Philip had not been an apostle; for although he might have laid his hands upon the person to be baptized, yet he did not, for

pat ilk ful wel þis philipp wist, For-þi of all þat he baptist, He heild þam to þe apostels ai, Þat þai suld on þam handes lai, H. Sch., Act. Ap., ch. 40, p. 1669 C. Si enim Philippus iste apostolus esset, statim baptizatis manus imponeret, nec ad hoc alios exspectaret.

In this place, indeed, the poet has not, as usually, translated literally; the substance, however, of the two versions is the same.

Saul learned all that he afterwards taught, within three days and nights:

C., 1. 19653—5. Wit-in þaa thre night and thre dais, Mikel he lered, als summen sais, O spelling þat he siþen spak, H. Sch., Act. Ap., ch. 42, p. 1671 C. In quo triduo creditur a Spiritu sancto didicisse Evangelium.

The command from Heaven, "Peter, kill and eat," is followed in the Cursor by an explanation of these words which quite agrees with the H. Sch.

C., 1. 19854—8.
Al sua [say], 'gang and bou sal gete
pe Iuen folk, o-mang bou ga
pe heben lede, for bou sal sla
pair lastes bat es noght to prais,
And haali halikirc up-rais.'

H. Sch., Act. Ap., ch. 47, p. 1676 B. Ac si diceretur in spiritu: Transi ad gentes, et occide in eis vitia, et sic Ecclesiæ incorpora.

The influence of the H. Sch. on the Cursor is evident in the lines 1981—8, which treat of some details in the rite of baptism:

C., l. 19881-8. Saint ambros sais pat we sai thre Rehercing quen child sal houen be. "Trus bou in godd," ya, bis es an, pe tober, "for-sakes bou sathan," pe thrid es, "wil bou baptis be;" And alsua, smerling es par thre, In brest, in suldres, and in frunt, And thris ban es he put in funt.

H. Sch., Act. Ap., ch. 47, p. 1676 C. Nam, ut dicit Ambrosius, in catechismo fit trina interrogatio, scilicet, credis in Deum? abrenuntias Satanæ? vis baptizari? Similiter trina unctio, in vertice, sive fronte; in scapulis; in pectore; in baptismo quoque fit trina immersio.

Peter sees that God makes no difference between persons:

C., l. 19945-6. Ne he ne be-halds queber it be Iuen or haiben, thral or fre,

H. Sch., Act. Ap., ch. 48, p. 1677 C. -nec discernit inter Judæos et gentes.

The Vulgate (Act. Apost., ch. 10, l. 34) contains this exclamation of Peter too, but it does not directly oppose Jews and heathens, as is done by P. C.

C., 1. 19990-2. And his it was he first passage, pat be apostels in parti Mad mang be folk o paeni.

H. Sch., Act. Ap., ch. 49, p. 1678 B. Et hic fuit primus transitus particularis apostolorum ad gentes,

With these lines the poet, for the present, closes the history of the Apostles; he treats of their life more particularly in another section, beginning with 1, 20849.

The miraculous deeds of the Apostles Peter and John, not mentioned above, exactly agree with the Vulgate (Act. Apost., ch. 2-5).

Another passage corresponding with the H. Sch., ch. 141, is:

C., l. 22441-2. Als Jerome sais bat man wel truus, Sais he fand in be bok o Juus,

ch. 141, p. 1611 A. Hieronymus autem in annalibus Hebræorum invenit signa quindecim dierum ante diem judicii.

But the fifteen signs before Doomsday cannot be taken as a proof that the Latin work was made use of, because the quotation of Jerome appears in a great many poems which mention those signs. [See Nölle, Die Legende von den fünfzehn Zeichen vor dem jüngsten Gericht. Halle, 1879, p. 6.] Moreover, the order of the signs is quite different from that in the H. Sch.

II.

WACE, L'ÉTABLISSEMENT DE LA FÊTE DE LA CONCEPTION NOTRE-DAME.

From 1. 10123-11232 the poet treats of the Virgin Mary's conception. The details of this legend might be taken from different apocryphal gospels-

- (1) the Pseudo-Matthæi evangelium, (2) the Evangelium de nativitate Mariæ,
- (3) the Protevangelium Jacobi minoris, 1 as well as from a French poem of Wace, L'établissement de la fête de la conception Notre-Dame. 2

Now, the question is, whether the English poet, for this part of his work, made use of the Latin works above mentioned, (which undoubtedly were very well known at his time,) or preferred the more developed telling of the story as we find it in the poem of Wace. An accurate examination of all these texts shows that there are a good many passages, where C. mentions single circumstances, which we only meet with besides in the work of Wace. Compare—

C., l. 10214. A mikel fest in winter fell, W., p. 11, l. 17—18. En yver, ce trovons lisant, Une feste faisoient grant;

In none of the Latin texts is there a remark that the festivity took place in winter.

Joachim, cursed by the priest for his childlessness, flees into the desert:

C., l. 10293. Into wildirness he went Fairfax. He went amang þaa wildrin laus. Cotton. W., p. 16, l. 5. Joachim as deserz ala,

C., l. 10302—3.
In praier, wak, and weping sare,
And fastand was in wil to be,

W., p. 16, l. 7—8. En plorant faisoit oroisons, Géunes et afflictions;

Again-

C., l. 10341—42. pat of egypti was hei stiward, And al þat land had in his ward. W., p. 18, l. 6—7. Qui eut d'Egipte la baillie Et trestoute la seignorie.

The English poet has correctly translated the French word *la baillie* with the correspondent *stewardship*; whereas, in the Apocryphal Gospel, Joseph is called *dominus Egypti*.

C., l. 10357—59. For sco sal be al godd be-kend; Til him offrid at thrid yere end, Als bou of hir bi wou has made, W., p. 18, at the bottom. A .III. ans iert a dieu donnée Et presentée a damdé, Issi con vos l'avez voé,

The angel orders Joachim to sacrifice:

C., l. 10375—76.
Bot ar he went, he bad him mak
A sacrifijs for drightin sak.

W., p. 19, l. 17—18. Torna s'en, mais primes li dist Que sacrefice à Dieu feist.

Edited by Tischendorf. Evangelia Apocrypha, Leipzig, 1853.
 Edited by Mancel et Trébutien, Caen, 1842.

The next part of the story, relating Joachim's sacrifice, is wanting in the Latin texts. I set some passages of the English and French poems side by side:

C., l. 10377—88.
Sir Ioachim was fain and blith,
And up he sett an auter suith,
Mad sacrifijs on maner suilk,—
First ten lambes, quitte als milk
pat beres takins o pam-self;
Sipen per neist, boles tuelue,
And at pe last, a hundret scepe;
Hu [he] pam delt ta nu god kepe.
To godd, pe lambes he gaf to lottes;
And to pe pouer, pe bul scottes;
pis hundret scepe pat i of melt,
Til al pe comun war pai delt;

W., p. 19, last line;—p. 20, l. 7. Mult fu liez, et Dieu mercia Joachim si sacrefia
Doze aingniaus blans premierement,
Doze toriaus, oeilles cent.
A Dieu donna les .xii. aigniax;
A .xii. povres, les toriaus;
Et les oeilles toutes cent,
Mist au pueple communement;

In the following lines the poet explains the meaning of the sacrifice mentioned above:

C., l. 10391-407. pir lambes ten, þam al als an, Bitakens iesu crist was tan, And don on rode for our wite, And for us sufferd gret despite; pe bulles tuelue he offrid sua, pou sal be tuelue apostels ta, pat tholod for crist bath soru and sare, And martird for his lune bai war. pir hundreth scepe þat þar was bun, War don to dele al to be comun, Bitakens felascip i-wiss, Of halus hei in heuen bliss; pe takening of a hundret tale, Al fullines it takens hale. For pai pat stad er in pair blis, Wit-uten seke, wit-uten sare, Mai nankin nede be funden þar.

W., p. 20, l. 10;—p. 21, l. 8. Par les aigniaus que il ocist, Nos senefie Jhesucrist, Qui en la croiz fu mors et pris, Et por noz pechiez fu ocis: Li .XII. tor senefierent Li .XII. apostle qui prechierent, Et puis furent sacrefié Por amour dieu et martreié. Les cent brebiz qu'ot demandées, Au pueple furent devisées: Ce nos est avis, senefie La celestiaus compaignie, Car cent, cist nombres, ce savon, Senefie perfection. Icil qui sont el ciel lassus Sont parfait, ne lor estuet plus; Sanz enferté sont, et sanz vice, Sanz mauvestié et sanz dampnice.

From C., l. 10409, both works show so striking a likeness that there cannot be the slightest doubt about the fact that the author of C. knew the poem of Wace, and made use of it for his poem. I compare only a few passages:

C., l. 10409—13.
Leue we nu ioachim bus-gate,
And speke we nu of anna state,
Of hir site and of hir care,
Hu sco it for hir husband bare,
Quen bat he heild him fram hame.

C., l. 10415—16. pis leuedi was o mikel prise, Loued and lered, bath war and wise, W., p. 21, l. 13—16.
De Joachim vos avons dit;
Or, dirons d'Anna .i. petit,
Qu'ele fist, comment se contint,
Quant ses sires en maison vint.

W., p. 21, l. 17—18. Anna fu dame mult proisie, Mult loée et mult ensaingnie: C., l. 10417—23.

Quen sco had herd al þis tiþand
Of ysacar and hir husband,
Sco tok on hir cleþing o care,
Sco sperd hir dore, and wepid sare,
Weped and mornd night and dai,
Hir lijf in langing lastand ai,
O gladscip was hir alþer-leist.

C., l. 10424—27.

Quen pat pair dai was comin o fest,
pan men suld bald pam to be blith,
And ilk man al his malice mith,
Fair scrud on pam to take,

W., p. 22, l. 1—7.
Quant le reprovier ot oï
Que l'en ot fait a son mari,
Dras de dolor et de plor prist;
Clost sa maison, et grant duel fist,
Plora la nuit, plora le jour,
Toute sa vie ert en tristor,
Onques de joie ne li tint.

W., p. 22, l. 8—10. Quant li jors de la feste vint, Que l'en s'en devoit esbaudir Mieuz conréer et mieuz vestir.

The Latin gospels do not know this fact, nor do they know anything about the consolation which the maid-servant of Anna gives to her lady; whereas the French poem agrees almost literally with C.:

C., l. 10431—34.
See had a maiden hight vtaine,
pat was hir priue chambur-laine,
"Leuedi," see said, "for drightin dere,
pou mend bi mode, and turn bi chere!"

Or,

C., l. 10437—42.

"Hu lang sal pou pus-gat be wroth?
pou cleth pe wit sum better cloth.
pou agh um-thinc pe, leuedi lele,
pat pou es of kind of ysrael;
Ne wat pou noght, it semes nai,
Quat a fest it es to dai?"

W., p. 22, l. 11—14. Si vint Item sa chamberiere Si l'apela en tel maniere: "Anna, dame, conforte-toi, Por quoi ne prenz conroi de toi?"

W., p. 22, l. 15—19.
"Dessi qu' à quant issi ploras?
Vestoi, dame, pren meilleurs dras:
Tu te doiz contenir plus bel,
Qui es del lignage Israel;
Dont ne sez tu la feste est hui?"

The Cursor continues—C., l. 10443—50 = Wace, p. 22, l. 20—p. 23, l. 4. Utaine tries to cheer her lady. She says: "I am very sorry to see you always so mournful, whereas you should be glad, cast off your melancholy, and array yourself better for the feast of God."

W., p. 23, l. 5—12 = C., l. 10452—61. Anna forbids her maid to speak; she cannot have any pleasure if she does not see her husband.

W., p. 23, l. 13—20 = C., l. 10462—70. The reply of Utaine, wanting in Evgl. de Nat. Mar., is also shortly given in Psd. Mth. Evgl. ch. ii.

From Wace, are further taken, lines 10471—94 = W., p. 23, l. 21—p. 24, l. 20. Anna goes into her orchard to weep and complain there; she begs God to bless her with a child, as he had blessed Sarah; she mourns the day of her birth, being now cursed by church and community.

W., p. 25, l. 7—9. The apparition of the angel and the promise of a child, which are spoken of from line 10495, are also to be found in Evgl. de

Nat. M. ch. iv. The discourse, however, between Anna and the angel, is wanting there; she devotes her child to the Lord's service = C. 10503-5.

Further, from 1. 10506, the angel tells her that there are many wives whom God has not blessed with children till their old age, as Sarah and Rachel. This account is also given in *Evgl. de Nat. M.* ch. iii., but the words are addressed to Joseph instead of to Mary. All these facts are found, in just the very same succession, in Wace, and have in the Cursor the mark of the correctest translation. W., p. 25, l. 11—p. 26, l. 13.

I add to these some other particulars not given in *Pseudo-Matth. Evgl.*, or in *Evgl. de Nat. M.*; but only to be found in Wace's poem.

W., p. 26, l. 14-15 = C., l. 10530-32; W., p. 27, l. 1 = C., l. 10542; W., p. 27, l. 9-20 = C., l. 10551-62; W., p. 7, l. 19-20 = C., l. 10573-74; W., p. 29, l. 9-11 = C., l. 10599-601; W., p. 30, l. 9-14 = C., l. 10623-28; W., p. 30, l. 15-p. 31, l. 11 = C., l. 10629-46; W., p. 34, l. 19 = C., l. 10723.

With C., l. 10835, begins a divergency of the four manuscripts. The Cotton and Göttingen manuscripts still follow the French poem in lines 10835—68. The Fairfax and Trinity manuscripts turn to the Bible. The very unexpected tale concerning the apparition of the angel is remarkable. Mary and Joseph, who have hitherto filled the poet's thoughts, all at once seem to be persons quite unknown to us. Lines 10835 ff. run thus: "God sent his angel Gabriel into a town of Galilee, named Nazareth; there lived a man of the name of Joseph, of David's family. He was married to Mary," etc.

This passage, compared with Luke i. l. 26 ff., turns out to be a literal translation of the Evangelist's words. Another proof, that the Bible was used here, is l. 10861: And his name shalle pou Jhesu calle. = Luke i. 31.

Neither Wace nor any one of the Latin works mentioned above makes mention of Jesus's name in speaking of the Annunciation. Nor does Wace say that Jesus shall for ever reign over Jacob's house. See Luke i. 33; and Evgl. de Nat. M. ix. From line 10869—900 the other two manuscripts also agree with the Bible. Although Wace in general mentions the same principal points of the story, we see from lines 10892—98 that only the Bible can have been the source of the Cursor.

The angel shows Mary her kinswoman Elizabeth, who then was in the sixth month of her pregnancy, as an example of God's power. Compare with this account, Luke i. l. 36: Et ecce Elisabeth cognata tua, et ipsa concepit filium in senectute sua, et hic mensis sextus est illi, quæ vocatur sterilis. And W. p. 40, l. 22 ff.:

Voiz Elysabel ta parente, Qui longues a brehaingne esté, Et enfant a tant désirré, Concéu a de son seignor Un fil qui iert de grant valor.

In Wace the exact time, six months, is not given precisely. C., 1. 10899-900. With God nothing is impossible. Luke i. 37: Quia non erit impossibile anud Deum omne verbum.

Wace makes no mention here of God's omnipotence.

After this short interruption, the poet turns again to his original authority, as is proved by 1. 10905—912, compared with W., p. 41, 1. 8—17.

After having obeyed the command of God, Mary says: "The Saviour may be born of me, I am my Lord's handmaiden."

He who has all in His power, who was from eternity and will be for ever, is seen in the pure virgin. The poet saying:

C., l. 10909-10.

W., p. 41, l. 12—13. pat all wroght, and has in hand, Sun and mone, and se and sand,

Qui tout a fait, tout voit, tout ot;
Qui mer et terre et ciel enclot.

He has for once deviated from his custom of exactly translating even the very words of his original.

C., 10913—14. Wat bou quat for soth i tell? pe lauerd es nu bicummen threll,

W., p. 41, l. 18—19. Savez que por voir puet l'en dire Sers devint cil qui estoit sire,

W., p. 41 end-p. 42, l. 7 = C., 10917-24. The immortal Lord became man, in order to die for us, without being under any necessity, for He would defend us from death and from the fiend.

Once more the poet leaves Wace, from 1, 10935, to insert the annunciation and birth of John, wanting in the French poem. He found the matter for it. with the exception of a few additions, in Luke i. l. 5-22. He doesn't return to Wace's poem until 1. 11023. Compare:

C., l. 11023—36. Quen þai wer mett, þir leuedis tuin, pat war bath cosins of a kin, Formast sant maria spak, And hir greting be-gan to mak Til elizabeth þan welforth stadd, Hir child in wamb be gladd, And for ioi it sett up-right For to wirscip bat lauerd dright, Again him mad gladnes an glu, pof he ne him sagh, wel he him kneu; W., p. 43, l. 10—21. Quant les .II. dames s'asamblerent, Qui cousines d'un lignage erent, Sainte Marie avant parla, Sainte Elisabel salua. Quant cele a le salu oï, Ses fiz del ventre s'esjoï; D'amor et de joie s'esmut, Son seignor qui venoit connut. Cil qui estoit encore à naistre,

Hijs lauerd he kneu welwel bi-forn pat he was of his moder born, pe man his lauerd, be maister his clerc, pe maker kneu his hand-werc. Connut son seigneur et son maistre, Criature son criatour, Deciples maistre, sers son seignor.

In the same manner the translation of the French poem proceeds. W., p. 43, l. 22—p. 44, l. 19 = C., l. 11037—56. Though the meeting of the two women, and Elizabeth's prophecy, is also found in Luke i. 40—56, the remark, that the two women dearly loved each other and told each other what they liked; that the one was a young girl, the other a married wife, is only told by Wace, p. 44, l. 13—18.

Lines 11115—76 relate the pregnancy of Mary, Joseph's distrust, and his intention of leaving his wife. Though this passage, too, agrees with *Evgl. de Nat. M.* ch. x., as to its contents, the corresponding passage of the Cursor turns out to be a literal translation of Wace's poem, p. 44, l. 19—p. 47,-l. 17.

Annexed to the birth of Christ, the poet gives an argument for Mary's immaculateness, which we find again in the very same passage of the French original.

An exact translation from Wace is the following passage:

C., l. W., 11209—12. Qua godds might kneu witerli, par-of thurt him haf na ferli: Maria barn ber in chastite, Sin godd wald þat it sua suld be. W., p. 48, l. 1—4. Qui la puissance Dieu sauroit, Nient ne s'esmerveilleroit Que Marie virge enfanta, Quant Diex le vout et commanda.

C., l. 11213—26 = W., p. 48, l. 5—p. 49, l. 7. God, who made the dry rod bear blossoms and fruit without its being covered with soil, could also cause a child to be born of a virgin at the end of the ninth month. He who wrought all things in a little time, made the dumb ass speak, and clave the sea to destroy His enemies, could cause a virgin to give birth to a child.

A characteristic testimony for the immaculate conception is likewise taken from the French by our poet:

C., l. 11227—32.
pe liknes o þis barn-teme,
Right als þou seis þe sun beme
Gais thoru þe glas and cums again,
Wit-uten brest, right sua al plain,
Bot flescheliker, he com and yede,
Saufand his moder hir maidenhede.

W., p. 49, l. 9—15. Issi con li soulauz son rai Par la verriere met et trait, Qu'a la verriere mal ne fait: Issi et mult plus soutilment, Entra, et issi chastement En Nostre Dame le fil Dé, Pour garder sa virginité.

a. Passages not to be found in the works mentioned above.

After having proved in the preceding part of my essay that Wace was a source of the Cursor Mundi, there still remain a few passages whose source I

cannot find anywhere, though I hope some future searches may hit on their original.

- C., l. 10783—816. The reasons for which Christ should be born of a married wife are as follows:
- 1. The fiend should be deceived, that he might not triumph over the soul of Mary, in case of Jesus' bastard birth.
 - 2. The Jews should be prevented from stoning Mary.
 - 3. Mary should not lack a husband's protection.

A similar argument is found in an old English poem. Geburt Jesu.¹

Geburt Jesu, p. 81, l. 263—68:
Josep weddede in þis entente
pis clene maide þere;
Ac for oþer þing our lord wolde
pat heo wedded were:
pat is moder isclaundred nere
Wiþ childe unwedded were,
Ne þat þe deuel it under 3ite
pat amaide achild bere;
Vor, 3if he it wuste, e wolde wite
pat hit were godes sone,
And habbe destourbed al þe dede
Of his swete passione.

In this legend, only the first of these reasons is mentioned, therefore the conjecture that this legend was the source of the Cursor is to be rejected. Probably this argument in the Cursor, as well as in the legend, is taken from some common source. An evidence for such a source is found in the legend, l. 413, which contains almost the same words as C., l. 11060 ff.

Geburt Jesu, l. 413—14.

And, as in some stude is iwrite,
vorte bat child were ibore,
po 3eode he agen to hire owne hous,
From wham heo come bifore.²

C., l. 11057—64. Mary remained at Elizabeth's till the birth of John, and helped her with her own hand; the poet adds:

And,-als i in sum bokes fand.

For the following lines I have not succeeded in finding a source: l. 11101—14, where the poet tells us, that John, when seven years old, went into the wilderness to escape from sin. He fed on roots, grass, and honey, and wore neither cloth nor linen.

¹ Edited by Horstmann, Altenglische Legenden. Paderborn: 1875.

² The reasons why Mary's betrothal with Joseph was necessary, are to be found too in Beda, and in the Ormulum.

b. THE STORY OF ELSEY, AND THE FESTIVAL OF THE CONCEPTION.

The institution of the festival of Mary's conception is described, 1. In a Latin Miraculum de Conceptione Sanctæ Mariæ. 2. In the Introduction to Wace's French poem mentioned above, p. 1-9. But as I have already proved that the author of the Cursor knew this French poem, it is very likely that his mind reverted to it again when he was near the end of his voluminous work; and it is easy to show that this really was so. The introduction of the tale shows, from 1. 24755-62, some accordance with the French poem, both authors expressing their intention of relating the time and manner in which the festival was instituted. Compare with them Wace, p. 1. The Miraculum does not contain this introduction. Wace, p. 2, l. 6—15 relates, that Harold's death much afflicted the King of Denmark, and he equipped ships to fight against the Normans, who had usurped the kingdom. The Miraculum also knows of the preparations for the combat against the Normans, but here, instead of being led by grief and desire of vengeance upon the murderer of his friend, the King of Denmark wishes to take possession of England himself: 1. 24789 contains one word which goes to prove that our poet made use of Wace: the line runs He gadir sauders her and bar,

that is, he gathered soldiers everywhere.

It can scarcely be explained how this word "sauders" could have the meaning of "milites" in the *Miraculum*, but "soudoiers" in the French text, p. 2, l. 19, shows apparently the original of the English word.

Compare further the following passages:

C., l. 24793—6. His consail badd him for to faand, pe king of danemerk wit seand, For to spek a-bute sum pais Bituix him and be danais.

Wace, p. 3, l. 3—6. A ses barons se conseilla Q'en Danemarche envoiera, Savoir se ja par nul endroit As Danois pais faire porroit.

The conspicuous qualities of Elsey are not to be found in the *Miraculum*, but in Wace's poem:

C., l. 24800—2.
A hend man he was and wise;
A gret resun wel seeu he cuth,
Wit-uten ani mer in muth.

W., p. 3, l. 9—12. Bien cointement savoit parler, Et bon conseil prendre et doner; Mult estoit de bonne éloquence, Si parloit par grant sapience.

² Miraculum, p. 88. ... et ex circumjacentibus regionibus milites quam plurimos

congregravit.

¹ Printed in the appendix to Wace's Conception Nôtre Dame, ed. by Mancel et Trébutien; Caen, 1842, p. 87. Cf. G. Sarrazin, Ueber die Quellen des Ormulum in E. Kölbing's Englische Studien, vi. p. 7.

In the same way,

C., l. 24808—11.
O presaundes mani, and riche gift,
O siluer and gold giftes to bede,
Mar þan mister es to rede;
pe sing o pes alsua to bring.

W., p. 3, l. 15—18. Livra li mult bons garnemenz, Et d'or et d'argent granz presenz, Qu'il au roi des Danois portast, En signe de pais li donnast,

The Miraculum only gives the following remark: Salutes ac munera atque servitia ex Guillelmi Regis parte obtulit.

C., l. 24818—26.
His presand to be king he mad,
His presand welcum was and he,
Als bringand wont was to be;
Til earls and baruns o bat rike,
pan gaf he serekin giftes rike; etc.

W., p. 4, l. 3—8.
Au roi vint, si fist son present,
Cil le reçut mult doucement;
Et as contes et as barons
De la terre donna granz dons,
Et tel i ot qui li promist
L'ost remanoir, cil tant lor dist.

He gave the earls and barons presents, speaking so well, that the army was allowed to remain in the country. Compare with this the short notice of the Miraculum: Deinde omnia ut sibi jussum fuerat, inquisivit.

W., p. 4, l. 9-12 = C., l. 24827-32. After having settled his affairs, Elsey, richly endowed by the king, betakes himself with his men to the ship.

The Miraculum does not make any mention of the royal presents, nor of the ship's being favoured by a fair wind:

C., l. 24835—37.
At pe last moght pai noght se,
Bot heuen aboue pam and pe see:
pe weder als in somer smeth,

W., p. 4, l. 13—16. A la mer vinrent, enz entrerent; En mer s'enpaintrent et siglerent. En haute mer ja loinz estoient, Fors ciel et mer riens ne véoient.

W., p. 4, l. 17—p. 5, l. 3 = C., l. 24838—48. The vivid description of the storm, where no details are omitted, the darkness of the clouds, the roaring of the sea, the contrary wind, the breaking of the masts, is an accurate translation of the corresponding passage in the French poem. W., p. 5, l. 10—11 = C., l. 24856—59. After useless efforts, they let the helmless ship drive.

C., l. 24863—68. The English poet inserts a prayer of the shipwrecked sailors, not to be found in Wace's poem; this prayer seems really to be the only passage where the *Miraculum* has influenced the English poet:

C., l. 24865—68.
"Leuedi," þai said, "þat es sa mild,
Prai for us to þi suet child,
All mon we drun, sa wailawai!
Leuedi! nu help, for well þou mai."

Mir. de Conc. S. Mariæ, p. 89. Maria mater Domini, ora pro nobis miseris, tuo filio, ô Domina, commenda nostra flamina. The lines 24885—86 of C. point again to Wace:

W., p. 6, l. 14—15.
All þaa þat in þat ferr cost fard
War medd quen þai him sagh and herd;
Quant ils le virent et oïrent;

The effect of the angel's coming is not so great in the Miraculum, where we read: admirantibus omnibus quaenam esset persona illa...

The line 24893: "Quen pou cums in-til england," means that Elsey was to establish the festival mentioned above in England; and this mention of the country not being made in either authority, the more accurate remark may be attributed to the English poet himself, who only wrote for his native country.

The end of the tale, l. 24957—68, also agrees with Wace, p. 9, l. 7—12. Having come home again, Elsey established this feast in his abbey, and many other abbeys followed the example. The results of my inquiry in reference to this part of the poem are, that the poet here once more made use of the famous work of Wace, with the exception of one passage, which he borrowed from the Latin prose.

III.

ROBERT GROSSETETE'S CHASTEAU D'AMOUR.

In l. 9514—16 the poet says:

A sample for to tell herbi, A sample cordant, bat i tok Ute of sent Robert bok.

Now, as this parable is given at great length in *Chasteau d'amour*, or *carmen de Creatione Mundi*, by Robert Grossetete, bishop of Lincoln, the lines quoted above lead us to Robert Grossetete's work. Besides the French original ¹ there exists a Middle-English version, ² which dates from the beginning of the fourteenth century. ³

A part of the allegory, viz. 440 lines, containing only the first parable, is printed in Horstmann's Altenglische Legenden. Neue Folge. Heilbronn, 1881. No. 16, p. 349. De principio creationis mundi; eine Allegorie, von Grosthed. It is now our task to decide whether the author of C. was acquainted with the

¹ Cf. Robert Grossetete's *Chasteau d'amour*. London: printed and published for the Caxton Society, 1852, ed. by M. Cooke.

² Castel off Love, (Chasteau d'amour or carmen de Creatione Mundi,) an Early English translation of an old French poem by Robert Grossetete, bishop of Lincoln, ed. by Richard Francis Weymouth, M.A. London: 1864.

³ Cf. Weymouth, p. 5.

Middle-English version of the French poem, or went to the French original. In the French poem, the tale given in the Cursor begins at 1. 205; in the English version at 1. 275.

The following is a summary of the contents of C., l. 9517-9816: A mighty king had a son so wise that he made him his partner in all his acts; he had, besides, four daughters, Mercy, Truth, Justice, and Peace, without whom he could not reign. A servant of the king was, because of a crime, given over to his foe. Mercy, disliking this act of severity, begs the king's pardon for him. Truth is astonished, and says if it depended on Mercy, crimes would no more be punished; but the servant ought to be punished. Justice consents to the sentence of death. Poor wretch! His foe deprived him of mind and strength, all his kin are enslaved and killed, but Noah and his family. Truth and Justice shall keep Peace in the country, that Mercy may be heard. No judgment can be passed except by the unanimous assent of the four sisters. Peace also begs for the servant; the king's son supports her; he will suffer the punishment for him. The explanation of the allegory is as follows: God is threefold, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Adam, after his fall, could not be ransomed by the angels nor by the prophets; there must be one, who was both God and man, and thus God Himself came on earth.

THE PARABLE OF THE CASTLE OF LOVE AND GRACE, 1. 9877-10094.

A castle of help and comfort stands high on a rock, so polished that no weapon can touch it; it is enclosed by four stone walls and a deep ditch, fortified with battlements and seven barbicans, with gate and tower. Every fugitive can take refuge here. It is painted with three colours, the foundation green, the middle blue, the battlements red. A clear well, from which run four all-healing streams, springs from the tower. Within that tower is a throne, with the brilliant light of which the bright colours mingle. The castle is the shield against our enemies. The polished rock is Mary's heart, the green colour betokens her end, the blue is her love and truth, the red her holy charity. The four towers are the four cardinal virtues; the seven barbicans represent the seven other virtues which quell the seven sins. The well is Mary's mercy, which can never be exhausted, the brilliant throne is Christ, who made His seat in Mary's soul.

The account of C. agrees most closely with the French source mentioned; the very introduction distinctly shows the strong likeness of both works:

C., l. 9517—22.

It was a king o mikel pris,
Wight he was, worthi and wis.
pis ilk king þat i of mon,
He had an anlepe son,
pat wit his fader was sa wele
pat wist his wisdom ilk dele, etc.

C., l. 9527—28.
All pat his fader wald ha wroght,
Thoru him til end it suld be broght.

Grosset., l. 205—10.
Un reis esteit de grant poeir,
De bon voleir, de grant saveir.
Iceu rois un filz avoit
Ki tres tut son seu savoit.
Tut autre tens cum fu le pere,
Si est le fiz en sa manere. etc.

Gr., l. 215—16. Quankil voleit comenceir, Par son fiz le vout cheveir.

In the English version (ed. by Weymouth) this passage is not clearly put; in 1, 287—88 we read there:

[What pat was of] his begynnynge, pe fader wolde to ende bringe.

Whilst in the two former poems it is the son who carries out his father's orders, in the translation the king himself performs his work.

The king distributes presents to the daughters:

C., l. 9537—39. Of his sustenance he gaf ilkan, And ilkan gaf he substance an, Als to þair fader it aght to fere, Gr., l. 223—25.
De sa substance ot chescune,
E trestut est substance une,
Ka lur pere avenait.

In the Middle-English version this passage is translated in a different way:

M.E., l. 290—91. And to uchone sunderlyng He 3af a dole of his fulnesse,

Respecting the unhappy servant, the Cursor reads:

C., l. 9550—52.

pis ilk king, þat i of rede,
A seruand had in his baili,
pat gain his lauerd had don foli, etc.

Gr., l. 237—40.
Iceu rei dont jo vous di,
Un serf ot kiert maubailli.
Ki par un tres grant forfet,
Ke ver son seignur ot fet: etc.

This fact is, of course, also mentioned by the M.E. translator:

M.E., l. 307—10. pis king, as bou herdest ar bis, Hedde a bral bat dude amis, pat for his gult strong and gret, Wib his lord was so i-vet.

But the French lines are much closer to the Cursor.

C., l. 9557—58. For he ne had neuer sa gret envie, Als þis man for to be baillie. Gr., l. 245—46. Kar dautre rien neurent envie Fors kavoir li en lur baillie.

The translation of these words in the M.E. poem is not so accurate:

1. 315—16. pat of no bing heo nedden onde Bote hi to habben under honde. Mercy begs for the prisoner:

C., l. 9593—94. I sal noght fine merci to cri Bituixand he haue þi merci." Gr., l. 281—82. Pur lui merci crierai Tant ke merci troverai.

Our poet is always inclined to adopt French words, whilst the English translator, on the contrary, prefers old English expressions. Compare:

M.E., l. 355-56. pi milce for him I crie euer-more, And haue of him milce and ore."

C., l. 9597—99.

And þat sco was algat a-bute
For to bij his prisun ute,
Be-for þe king fote sco stode,

Gr., l. 285—87. E veut enfin le serf sauver E de prison deliverer, Devant le rei sest areste.

The M.E. poem enters more into the details:

359—62.
 And wolde þis þral of prisū bringe,
 pat Riht hedde hī i-demet wt-outē ēdīge;
 Al heo chaunged hire mood,
 And bi-foren þe kyng heo stood.

C., l. 9601—2. Sli selcut haue i herd to-dai, pat i mai not forber to sai. Gr., v. 289—90. Teu merveille ai oie Ne puis ke jo nel die.

M.E., l. 364—65. I ne may for-bere to telle hit be Hou hit me binkeb a wonder bing.

C., l. 9621. Rightwisnes rais þan and said Gr., l. 311. E justice a tant se leve Si dit.

The earlier M.E. translation takes three lines to express the same thought:

1. 395—97. Riht i-herde þis talkyng; Anon heo stod bi-fore þe kyng. "Þi dou;ter," heo seiþ, etc.

C., l. 9645-46. Ilkman sco gis ai wit will, pair right to haue god and ill; Gr., 1. 335—36. A chescun done par saveir Quankil doit par dreit aveir.

The manner of representing this thought in the M.E. version is somewhat different:

1. 421—22.

porw wisdom heo deme alle As wole to his gult bi-falle."

C., l. 9647—48. For sothfastnes has said his sake, And þar-of dom wil on him wrak, Gr., l. 337—38. Verite de mal la tice E dampner le veut justice. While in both works Truth alone demands the doom of the servant, in the M.E. version Truth is assisted by Right:—

M.E., l. 423—24. Sop and Riht lo pus heo suggep, And pis pral to debe juggep.

C., l. 9649—50. Agh naman god him sai in werld, Sin þat pite es nu noght herd." Gr., l. 339—40. Ni ad nul que bien li die Puis ke pitie nest oie.

M.E., l. 425—26. Neuer nouper ne spekep hī good, 'Ne non [of hem] merci understood.

C., l. 9653—54. Ne he mai scap, ga quar he ga, pat him ne sailles ai his fa, Gr., l. 343—44. Ne se peut garir ou kil aut Kel enemi nel assaut.

M.E., l. 429—30. Ne helpeþ hi no þig wher-so he wende þat his fo fetteþ hi in uche ende,

Sometimes the poet deviates from his principle concerning a literal translation; passing over insignificant passages, he docks his tale, as 1. 9681—86, containing the complaint of Peace at her sisters, which takes up more lines in the French poem [1. 371—86] and the M.E. version [1. 457—74].

C., l. 9695—96. Sauf es i noght nu in þis werld Bot-if þat merci mai be herd.

Gr., l. 395—96. Mes sauve ne su jo mie Se misericorde nest oie.

The M.E. version renders this same thought in another way:

M.E., l. 483—84. Ak he ne louede [me] neuere to fere, pat Merci my suster nul not here.

C., l. 9697—706.

pou agh me here, wit-uten less,
For fader es þou, and prince o pes.
Pes endes al þat wel es wroght;
Qua has na pes, he has als noght.
Qua(t) es richess, qua can me sai,
Quar wisdom, quar pes es awai?
Qua wil for pes his trauaill spend,
In pes for-soth þan sal he end.
pan agh wel pes be herd for-þi,
For þis prisun þat cries merci!

Gr., l. 397—406.

Mon dit doit porter grant fes, Kar tu es prince de pes.
Peis est la fin de tuz biens; Ki peis ad, ne li faut riens.
Ne sanz peis ne vaut aveir
Ne richesce, ne saveir.
Ki pur peis aver se travaille,
En peis aura definaille.
E pur co peis doit estre oie,
Pur ceu serf ki merci crie.

The corresponding lines in the M.E. version, compared with these, show a complete transposition of some lines, viz. 1. 503—11:

Of uche goodschipe Pees is ende, Ne fayleb no weole ber heo wol lende; Ne wisdam nis not worp an hawe, per Pees faylep to felawe; And hose Pees louep wip-outen gabbe, Pees wip-outen ende he schal habbe. Mi word oute ben of good reles, For pou art Kyng and Prince of Pes, "For-pi pou outtest to here me, etc.

But I think these passages are sufficient, and I now confine myself to some very striking lines, e. g.:

C., l. 9749. I sal cri pes in land, i-wis. Gr., l. 453. E peis en terre frai crier.

M.E. l. 551.

And maken I chulle Pees to londe come.

Transposition of single lines is to be met with in M.E., e. g.: Gr., l. 463-64=C., 9759-60, corresponding to l. 561-62 in the M.E. version; Gr., l. 509-18=C., l. 9818-27=M.E., l. 607-16; Gr., l. 535-36=C., l. 9845-46.

Sli scap to se was na ferlik,
Bot monstres moght man call pam like.

Merueillus nierent ja nomez,
Mes mustres soient apelez.

M.E., l. 633—34. Ac hit is as hit mot nede ben, Of un-mete kuynde a forschipte streon.

In what follows, the Parable treats of the prophecy of Isaiah: Christ shall be called wonderful. The poet explains how we are to understand this word. It is not to be misconceived; for a child with three feet or hands, or any other misshaped creature, would not be called wonderful, but a monstrum.

It is strange that both the M.E. version and the Cursor should have misconceived the original text in the following line 555:

Kar en defaute nest pas fet.

The meaning of this line is without any doubt: Christ was not created in sin.

According to Weymouth, this preposition "en" was thought by the English poet to be the pronoun; accordingly he translates 1. 651—52:

And wipouten (synne he is) euere; For wone (thereof) dude ne neuere.

And the corresponding line in C. must have the same meaning: 1. 9862:

And all es fulli þat he wroght,

C., l. 9883-84 tell of the Castle of Love:

Gr., 1. 575—76.

A-pon be mathe it standes traist,
O fede ne dredes it na fraist;

Gr., 1. 575—76.

En la marche est assis,
Nad regard de ses ennemis.

M.E. renders these lines less accurately:

M.E., l. 671—72. In be mere he stont bi-twene two, Ne hab he ferlak for no fo;

C., l. 9891—92. Wit walles loken four a stan, pat fairer in þis werld es nan. Gr., l. 587—88. Enuirun ad quatre tureles, En tut le mund ni a sibeles.

The latter remark is totally wanting in the M.E. version at the corresponding passage:

M.E., l. 682—86. (Foure) smale toures (per) bely abouten To witen be heize tour wip-outen.

C., l. 9913. O thre colurs o sun-dri heu, Gr., 1. 607. De III colurs diversement

The superfluous remark of the two poems, that the three colours were different, is omitted in the M.E. version, l. 705:

Wib breo heowes bt wel beb sene;

C., l. 9923—24. pe thrid ouermast of all pat be kirnels ar paint wit-all,

Gr., l. 617—18. La tierce colur par enson Les karneaus covre environ.

The latter remark is again wanting in M.E.:

l. 715—16. pe þridde heu3 an ouemast Ouer-wri3eþ all and so is i-cast

In a similar way the influence of the French poem is to be seen:

C., l. 9925—26. It castes lem ouer al sa bright, pat reches to be dunjon light, Gr., l. 621—22. Tant reflambeie environ, Ke tut covere le dongon.

M.E., l. 717—18. pat wip-innen and wip-outen pe castel lihtep al abouten,

Ll. 9929—32 are translated from Gr., l. 623—26; the M.E. version, l. 721—26, gives the lines in another order.

C., l. 9985, apparently misunderstands the French poem; the meaning of the lower colour, the green, being explained by "pat es end o pat mayden clene." Grosset., on the contrary, says, l. 679: "c'est la foi de la virgine." So we have in all English MSS. of C., l. 9989—90:

For god ending of al and all, Of al vertus it es grund-wald.

Contrary to the original work, Gr., l. 683-84:

Kar foi est apertement De tutes vertuz fundement.

On comparison, we find the M.E. version rightly expresses the idea of the original, that faith is the principal virtue.

1. 777.
[pat is] be Maydenes bi-leue so riht,

And so-

M.E., 1. 781—82. For bi-leue is apertement Of alle vertues foundement.

The prayer to Mary (C., l. 10095—10122), though not literally translated, yet derives its contents from Gr., l. 787—818. The M.E. version gives it too, l. 881—910.

Our poet, now leaving his original, turns to his readers and says, l. 9765—9816, "You have now heard of the creation and Adam's fall, and that the angels could not ransom him. If angels had saved him, they would have become weaker and would have easily fallen, like Lucifer; neither patriarch nor prophet could ransom Adam; now, as no angel nor man could carry out the redemption, who was to do it?" As this passage is wanting in both poem and translation of Grossetete, I believe it to be an original addition of our poet.

After the prayer to Mary, Grossetete's Chasteau d'Amour continues with a discourse between Jesus and Satan.

But the author of the Cursor, intending to glorify Mary and her family, leaves his source, and turns to the conception of the Virgin Mary, from 1. 10123—11232.

L. 11233—372 treat of the birth of Christ, exactly following the Bible, Luke ii. 1—38.







Lebenslauf.

Ich, Hugo Carl Wilhelm Haenisch, Sohn des Maschinenmeisters Carl Haenisch und dessen Ehefrau Johanna geb. Beckelmann, evangelischer Confession, bin am 24. Juni 1859 in Jackschenau bei Breslau geboren. Nach erhaltener Elementarbildung besuchte ich die Schule des Waisenhauses zu Bunzlau. Ostern 1873 trat ich in das Realgymnasium "am Zwinger" zu Breslau ein, das ich Oktober 1878 mit dem Zeugniss der Reife verliess. Hierauf bezog ich die Universität zu Breslau, um mich dem Studium der Philosophie, speciell der neueren Sprachen zu widmen. Während meiner Studiensemester auf dieser Hochschule hörte ich die Vorlesungen der Herren Professoren und Docenten: Bobertag, Caro, Dilthey, Dove, Freymond, Gaspary, Gröber, Hillebrand, Kölbing, Neumann, Partsch, Reifferscheid, Roepell, Weber, Weinhold. An den Uebungen des romanischen und englischen Seminars unter Leitung der Herren Professoren DDr. Gröber, Gaspary, Kölbing beteiligte ich mich während meiner letzten Studiensemester als ordentliches Mitglied. Allen genannten Herren, insbesondere Herrn Professor Dr. Kölbing, der mir in liebenswürdiger Weise Rat und Anleitung in meinen Arbeiten gab, sowie auch Herrn Professor Dr. Gaspary fühle ich mich zu tiefem Danke verpflichtet.

An dieser Stelle nehme ich auch Gelegenheit, dem um die altenglische Sprachforschung hochverdienten Begründer der E. E. T. S., Herrn F. J. Furnivall in London, für seine liebenswürdige Bereitwilligkeit, diese Erstlingsarbeit in eine Publikation der Society aufzunehmen, desgleichen auch Herrn P. Z. Round in London für seine freundliche Unterstützung bei der Durchsicht der Druckbogen meinen ergebensten Dank auszusprechen.

Das Erscheinen vorliegender Arbeit in England dürfte auch die Abfassung derselben in englischer Sprache rechtfertigen.

Thesen.

- 1. Die bis jetzt aufgestellten Gesetze der anglonormannischen Metrik sind noch nicht gesichert genug, um die Textkritik beeinflussen zu dürfen.
- 2. Die 6. Strophe des geistlichen Liedes No. XV. in Böddeker's Sammlung "Altenglische Dichtungen" ist als Schlussstrophe unhaltbar; sie ist vielmehr als 4. Strophe einzusetzen.
- 3. Der Abschnitt des Cursor Mundi von v. 10783—10816 und die Legende "Geburt Jesu" in Horstmann's Ausgabe altenglischer Legenden (Paderborn 1875) stammen aus einer gemeinsamen Quelle.
- 4. Weymouth's Frage (Ausgabe des Castel of Love von Grosseteste p. 28): When did monster in this sense first become an English word? lässt sich dahin beantworten, dass die Anglisierung dieses Wortes im Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts geschah.









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